

LIGHT ON CAPITALIST CABLES

By COLIN WADE.

Following translations and synopses of articles in the Socialist Press of Comrade Wade throws light on European events, which should render it of aid to our readers to read the capitalist cables in their true setting.

ROUMANIA.

After the departure of the German troops, among the workers, who had for years endured the greatest hardships, occurred everywhere, and the leadership of the Socialist Party and the trade unions rapidly increased. Rumania rapidly became a powerful force in the country, so much so that the Premier, Bratiano, decided to suppress it. An excuse was easily found. Following a strike of typos, which met with the support of all organised labor in Bucharest, the government started to "restore order."

A great meeting of strikers was taking place at the Socialist Club, which, proving too small, the speeches were delivered in the adjoining public square. Troops (the whole of the 9th Hussars) were brought up. For fear that they might refuse the dirty job, they had been liberally supplied with brandy. Thus fortified, they appeared on the scene. Machine guns came into action, and more than two hundred workers were killed or wounded. (How like Amritsar!)

Bratiano was still dissatisfied. Military brutality increased. More than two hundred militant Socialists were arrested, including the executives of the Socialist Party and the Federation of T. U. Their treatment in prison was such that one of the Socialist leaders died of it.

One of the usual Government excuses was German gold. The Socialists were accusing the revolution as part of a German plot.

The majority of the prisoners, however, regained their liberty, their only influence being demonstrated. A demonstration took place a year ago, the shooting on December 26th, 1918; but it had the opposite effect to that desired by the bourgeoisie. To-day 250,000 Rumanian workers are organised, and have become powerful enough to drive all the other parties into a single national bloc, comprising the Conservatives and Liberals and the People's League.

On the anniversary of the big battle, 29.12.19, more than 50,000 workers marched through Bucharest with folded arms, announcing to the bourgeoisie the approach of their last hour.

SPAIN.

At the end of 1918 there were in the Socialist Party 233 branches and 14,588 members. A year later the figures were 348 branches and 42,113 members.

Last month a special congress was held at Madrid. Two motions were submitted dealing with international relations. The first condemned the Second International as no longer representing Socialist principles and tactics, and asked for immediate adherence to the Moscow International. The other, recognising that the French and English parties were still ad-

hering to the Second International, proposed to still retain Spanish adherence thereto, but to send a delegation to the Geneva Congress with instructions to demand a vote of censure on the individuals and sections who refused to join in their international socialist declaration, and that steps be taken to secure unity among sections at present divided in their allegiance between the Second and Third Internationals.

After a heated discussion, the motion was carried by 149 to 10. However, an amendment proposed by the Federation of Asturian workers, making the following motion, was adopted: "If at the time of the congress a very real and sincere attempt is made to secure Socialist and proletarian unity of the class struggle, the Party will give its adherence to the Third International."

It was apparent at the effect of the motion that the general opinion was that the Party must advance with and largely depend on the movement in England and France. This feeling caused the carrying of the above resolution, in spite of the general opinion that the Second International could never be dissolved in the Socialist International of the world.

Another notable vote at the Congress was one affirming the necessity of independence, association, and renouncing any alliance or understanding with any

bourgeois party. The importance of this was the fact that although it was the policy of the party until 1909, yet in the past ten years it has been laid aside, and only bitter experience has secured the return to a more logical position.

FINLAND.

The Socialist Congress took place in December. Animated debates resulted in a decision condemning any compromise with the bourgeoisie, and to make a striking protest against the blockade of Russia. The immediate restoration of peace with Moscow was demanded.

Last month some of the Baltic countries sent representatives to the Congress as a result of the Allied pressure.

The most interesting happening at the Conference was the attitude of Mannerheim, who offered to lead another attempt against Russia if England and Co. would ante up. Of course, it came to nothing, for just as the Socialists who represent the bulk of the town population demand immediate peace with Russia, so the peasant population also desires peace. The president, Stalberg, is their representative, and is not likely to venture on a policy opposed to their natural pacifism.

Russia has long recognised the independence of Finland, but is in a position to deal an immediate crushing blow if

any military attempt were made from that quarter.

And the Finns know it.

TURKEY.

A model parliament? Who says the Turks are backward? Their parliament had to be prorogued last month owing to the continued absence of a quorum.

ASIA.

The decisive role of Central Asia. Central Asia comprises Russian Turkestan, Persia, Afghanistan, and parts of China. It is situated between southern Russia and Siberia, which are completely in the hands of the Red Army. Arabia and other parts of Asia Minor occupied by the Pan-Islamic Turks, led by Khemal Pasha and by the borders of British India.

It is of extreme importance from the British Imperialist viewpoint.

Why did England explicitly and officially renounce its desire to "clear the Turks out of Constantinople? Because it appreciated the gravity of the question of Central Asia. If soon, in spite of their unappeasable hatred of Socialism, the Western Powers open negotiations with Socialist Russia, it will be because Lloyd-George has succeeded in making them share his apprehensions.

The Soviet Government has achieved a master stroke in rallying to its cause those Mussulman populations reaching from the Caucasus to the Himalayas.

Their profits are not getting solely from English markets. In a palpably false and spiteful manner, eternally occupied in setting passages from the Koran. They are better educated and better informed in foreign affairs than is generally believed. Russian Socialism has appealed to them as a means to freedom. Exploitation every way by Western Imperialism, they have recognised the possibility of a new method. And that is why the advance of the Red Armies beyond the Caspian is no negligible incident, and why their propaganda in the country between the Indus and the valleys of the Ganges and Indus has achieved such surprising results.

Today the whole of Central Asia is full of rumors. England has always been troubled by any suggestion of trouble in India. To save India she has already renounced her great and brutal enterprise against Constantinople and its communications. Tomorrow, likely enough, O'Grady at Copenhagen will receive supplementary instructions.

But it is not only England that is concerned in this development in the Moslem world. Italy is interested in Libya, and in Paris fully realises what is going on in Central Asia, she, too, will hasten to make peace with Moscow.

(Paul Louis, in "L'Humanite"), 14/1/20.

ARMENIA.

England, and incidentally the Peace Conference, is in a bigger tangle about Asia Minor and Turkey than is generally understood.

Bottomley, Harasworth and Co., with their hymn of hate, have had as much to say about the ineffable Turk that states-

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'The Sun' Fires the Haystack

In a discussion of Democracy the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, Bolshevism, the confiscation of private property and other topics such as hay-stacks and fire-sticks, the Sydney "Sun" states quite emphatically that the counterpart in Australia of these things already partly established in the greater part of Russia, can only be arrived at by means of REVOLUTION. With this view we must concur. Indeed, the issue before the whole world to-day is one turning about the patching-up of the present system of capitalist production, which is the concern of those in whose interest the system functions, or, of radically ejecting the present ruling class, the property-owning class, to be replaced by the propertyless class of the present which is the task of the propertyless class itself. For "The Sun" clearly to perceive this inescapable question of REVOLUTION is indeed well. If not to-day, then it would certainly be to-morrow that the great awakening would come, and to the extent that the local press is clarifying the issue, and is emphasising that it is possible to wipe out the evils of the present system of individual ownership of social products and social necessities by REVOLUTION ALONE, the work of the revolutionary propagandist is lightened.

"The Sun," however, is endeavouring to shine in another direction. It is seeking to apply the fire-stick to the highly inflammable haystack of an ignorant public opinion. Were it possible immediately to deport every Russian at present in Australia; were it possible completely to isolate Australia's vast areas, we believe that the "Sun" would still be called upon to cast luminous rays upon the question of "Industrial Unrest." For every statement that one reads to the effect that the silver sea that girds England's shores about will aid in withstanding the revolutionary tide, a dozen are available that show in an unmistakable way that it is the internal conditions of the British Isles that constitute the ultimate explanation of the growing discontent amongst the British workers. It would be well for the "Sun" to review the industrial history of any country, of Australia, say ten years ago, before the workers of Russia set their comrades throughout the whole world an example, destined, as it is, to be imperishable. What was the current explanation of the upheaval of the eighties and nineties of the last century in this country? Perhaps it will be said that it was the travelling organisers who made the shearers of the late eighties discontented? And the fact that W. G. Spence described himself as an "agitator" will,

perhaps, be quoted. It would be quite soothing to accept such an argument as this were it not that the repeated statements of European and American statesmen have placed so heavy a stress upon the urgent need of making the workers contented, and consequently unfruitful soil for the sowing of the revolutionary idea. It is right here that we have the admission of the present rulers of the world on the question of the agitator and his affect upon the workers with whom he comes in contact. It is neither he nor the workers themselves that will make the coming revolution. This will be the unavoidable consequence of the process of social evolution having been divided into two channels, the division being along the line of property. When the stream of social evolution shall again flow in one channel, then human society will have returned to that form of social organisation, Communism, which existed before the division. But we are by no means within sight of world communism. The division of society is only made manifest to us by the antagonisms it produces, and it is an undeniable fact that this cleavage is along the line of property, and until there is a change from this basis, which is of a territorial, to one of the relationship of individuals in society, there can be no lasting peace in the world, nor can there be any material improvement in the condition of the vast mass of the people of the world. And while it remains impossible to reconcile the antagonistic elements of the present day society, which are antagonistic in consequence of the demands of the revolutionary process, it will be possible agitators, either imported or locally bred, to stimulate the discontent that is the bred of the conditions right here at home. These are facts and would the "Sun" dare challenge them?

Exactly why the "Sun" should seek to light up the dark recesses of the working class, is not, however, a complete mystery. Without any attempt to hide its object, but desiring that "our democratic government" should "do the right thing and the courageous thing at once." As the first step Peter Simonoff is to be sent back to Russia. This is the very thing most desired by Simonoff, as well as all the other Russian workers in this country. Yet the decisions of the San Remo deliberations, as well as the insistent and growing demands of the business interests of nearly every country, all point to the immediate recognition of Soviet Russia. And where will the "Sun" cast her rays then? No doubt she will loudly proclaim that the days of hate are done, and that better relations, an "entente cordiale" should exist between the two countries for the commercial benefit of Australia and the moral uplift of the "enslaved" Russian. The sudden turn about in the attitude of the world in relation to trade with Germany shows how quickly the noisy clamorings of the yellow press follow the dictates of international finance—capital. May we not suppose that they will turn again with even greater suddenness?

Nevertheless, so long as the present situation continues it is the task of the press to stir up all vilest prejudices of men and women bred of a system that wantonly degrades, and this in the fair name of democracy of freedom, but all for the purpose of settling the present agitations on the part of the working class that production may proceed without interruption, and simultaneously the exploitation of the working class. But the luminous orb can never be clouded with the thought that thus to stir up hatred is, as the Arbitration Court would tell us, unsocial. Revolution, too, is unsocial, in the sense of the continued existence of capitalism but decidedly social from the point of view of social evolution. Revolutions are truly, as Marx said, the locomotives of history, and the coming revolutions will no doubt considerably speed up the gyrations of the "Sun," and by the introduction of some fresh air, and wholesome oil, give the much beclouded and smelly globe the much needed cleaning.

Realising how strongly fortified the editorial light must be, it is with considerable diffidence that we display our holy proletarian candle, yet, being of the opinion that the present fiery orb will soon have diffused its vitalising rays, we are compelled to lead on to the stage Fair Democracy, ravished through the centuries, scarce able to raise her weary and saddened figure, her eyes bloodshot. Behold, our Democracy quivers, and about her mouth there grows a smile, soon to become a joyous laugh such as Venus herself might well envy.

Democracy let it be said, is certainly in existence to-day in Soviet Russia; equally true is it that democracy exists in Australia. But democratic government is but the superstructure, the particular forms of which, as well as the manner of its distribution, are wholly dependent upon the underlying and oft-times hidden, basis of society in a given country, and epoch. The democratic structure of the Australian Commonwealth, as of all the world, is built upon the private ownership of these things which are necessary to every man and woman for the maintenance of life. Mr. G. H. Knibbs, the Commonwealth statistician, has issued a highly instructive work, which he has called "The Private Wealth of the Commonwealth of Australia," in which the contention in regard to the concentration of the commonly needed means of life in the hands of a minority is conclusively proven. Democracy in this country is, therefore, built upon the needs of a minority that holds property; this minority becomes the master class, and all the present existing forms of democracy are essentially in the interests of the class that is master of the situation. This was likewise the position in Russia until November, 1917, but after that date the class that was previously the propertyless class, and therefore the slave class, became the master class.

Establishing what is known as the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. But nevertheless democracy does exist in Russia, and the point that must be stressed is that the forms of democracy now existing in Russia are so constructed that the whole people participating in the government of Soviet Russia are actually administering the affairs of their own country. The Soviet is at once legislative and administrative, and, therefore, more democratic than the Australian democracy. The fact that the Russian democracy is administrative shows that proletarian democracy, holy proletarian, as "The Sun" would say, is not bureaucratic and the ignoramuses who oppose Socialism should maintain. A reading of the leading articles of the Sydney "Daily Telegraph," however, will show that the democracy of Australia is bureaucratic in the extreme. It may be concluded that when the holy proletariat will have established its dictatorship that pimps, spies, those who stir up the worst elements of an anachronistic society, and other products of our glorious Australian democracy will certainly cease to be needed by legislators who are their own dog catchers.

Provided that all the luminous rays of the "Sun" have not been dissipated it would, one feels sure, be of great benefit if a stray, perhaps inquisitive ray, were to penetrate the all too hidden and stagnant places of the country that so plentifully produce agitators men and women, willing to work that this, our Australian democracy, shall be replaced by as short-lived a Dictatorship of the Proletariat as possible, not a "holy" proletariat, but one that shall be all inclusive and not given to the ways of yellow journalism, but to useful work.

O. CLAIR

A. S. P.

NEWS AND NOTES

SYDNEY BRANCH.

The lecture in Sydney Branch Hall on April 18th was delivered by Vance Marshall, who chose for his subject, "When Rebels Fall." The lecturer dealt with what he considered the blunders and mistakes of local rebels, and showed what he understood by a rebel, and what he considered was necessary action for the furtherance of the Socialist Movement.

Many of the audience ventured to disagree with Com. Marshall, and the discussion was certainly heated, if nothing else.

On Wednesday, April 21st, a debate took place between Comrade Thomas and Mr. Kay, of the Citizens' Democratic League, the subject being "Socialism v. Individualism." The hall was crowded, and an interesting evening spent.

The cold weather having set in, the dance is beginning to boom, and the floor is well filled on Saturday nights.

Comrade Brodney occupied the platform on Sunday, April 25th, his subject being "Revolutionary Tactics." He, of course, emphasised the necessity for ob-

The Coal Commission

I do not think that the evidence given before the Coal Commission by the representatives of the Coal Owners of the Southern District should be allowed to go unchallenged, as they do not put the true position of affairs concerning the miners before the public.

Dr. Robertson, Mr. J. E. Jones, Mr. A. E. O. Sellars and others, said that the miners received too much pay, and this, in their opinion, was the cause of many stoppages in the industry. To show that this is not so, I will place before your readers a few facts, which will, I think, convince any fair-minded reader.

The latest report of the Government Statistician shows that the cost of living has increased 70.8 per cent. since 1914 while in the same period the miners' wages have been increased only 37.1 per cent. so that the miners are at present 33.3 per cent worse off now than in 1914. And these figures do not include the following items which make a big hole in the miners' wages:—

Miners' tools have increased since 1914 200

Workmen's railway tickets increased since 1914 35

Explosives used in work increased since 1914 25

So leaving those items out and taking the cost of living on the Government's figures, the present minimum wage of 16/3, paid to miners working in deficient places, should now be 21/-.

taining control of the Political Power, naturally drew on his head the wrath of the industrial section of the audience.

Certainly, a big feature of the Sunday night lectures is the discussion, and consider that much good propaganda is done in this way.

The Domain meetings continue to be good, and paper sales are also satisfactory.

The Sydney Branch celebrated May Day on May 2nd in good style.

On Saturday, May 1st, the Branch Hall was given over to the Central Executive who organised with great success a Social and Dance. Com. Beardon moved the May Day resolution, which was seconded by Com. Leece and carried by acclamation. Several musical items were rendered and in every respect the evening was all that could be desired.

On May 2nd the usual meeting was held in the Domain, the weather was perfect, and a huge crowd assembled around our platform.

Com. Gough occupied the chair, and the speakers were Coms. Mrs. Beardon, Jackson, Thomas and A. S. Reardon, it is not often that the three latter comrades are altogether in the Domain, one of them is nearly always away on outside propaganda; and the crowd appreciated their presence by never moving from the platform all the afternoon, and although we have had huge audiences of late, the May Day crowd was a record both in appreciation and size.

Mention must not be forgotten of the most important feature of the afternoon, that is the sale of literature and papers. "State and Revolution," on sale for the first time went like hot cakes, and the papers were entirely sold out.

In the Hall at night, the Branch organised a rally. Com. Brodney was in the chair, and Coms. Beardon, Jackson and Thomas the speakers. The Hall was packed, when the chairman called on the audience to rise and sing the Red Flag, and at its conclusion, Coms. Beardon rose to make the first speech.

All three comrades were in excellent form and were enthusiastically applauded by their hearers.

They, of course, emphasised the fact of the International significance of May Day, how the workers of the world are rapidly realising their class position, and the downfall of capitalism is at hand.

At the conclusion of the speeches, the May Day resolution was carried with acclamation.

MARCIA REARDON,
Anti Soc.

shift. And to read the evidence of some of the witnesses you would think that all a miner had to do if he cavelled at a hard place was to go to the office and get his 16.3 on the pay day.

Now any man who has worked in the mines, including the witnesses for the owners, knows that this is far from true, and by reason of which he cannot earn the minimum wage, he has to comply with a cast-iron Award, under which he works, and which gives the Manager all the latitude he requires, and which he uses to see that the miners are going at their top speed all day, before they will be paid; besides which he has to put up with the insults and disparaging remarks made to him by all the Colliery officials who are in and out of his working place at frequent intervals to see that he does his best.

To show that the miners do not average £4 a week you only have to take the

case of men who are injured in the mines, and you will find that not more than half of them ever receive the maximum amount allowed under the Compensation Act, namely, half of their average earnings; but not to exceed £2 per week. This is the only place where you will find the miners' true average made out by the Management, as here it affects their pocket.

Another witness said the men did not take enough interest in their Union affairs, and that all disputes were dug up by their officials. To show what this statement is worth, I will just mention that after the 1917 strike, 123 men on the Southern Coal Field were victimised by these same owners for taking an interest in their Unions, and trying to better the conditions for themselves and others, some of them have never been allowed to start in the Southern District since. And at the present any member taking a prominent part in his Lodge is picked out and

dismissed at the first chance, or if he leaves of his own accord, he has to produce a note from the manager of the mine he left before he can get a start in any other colliery. And not even then will he get an answer until the manager to whom his applying has rung up on the 'phone to the mine he left to find out if he is a marked man or one who will stick up for his rights, and if the manager does not get a satisfactory report of him, he is turned away, and this happens at every mine to which he applies on the Coast. There are dozens of men walking the Coast at the present time under these circumstances.

I think that it is time all the workers took an interest in their own affairs and began to understand what they are entitled to, and to abolish the capitalist system, instead of slaving and being trampled down under it, and which will continue as long as they, the workers, allow it to do so. J.R.

The Russian Code of Laws of Labor

The above is the title of a pamphlet to hand, printed in English in Russia and Edited by the People's Commissariat of Justice. The pamphlet sets out the laws relative to the employment of labor; the laws which were to take "force from the moment of its (the Code) publication in the "Collection of Laws and Instructions of the Workmen and Peasants Government."

Following are some of the titles of sections of the Code:—

"On Compulsory Labor," "The Right of Application of Labor," "Method of Labor Distribution," "Working Hours," "Labor Protection," "Rule concerning Unemployment and Payment of Subsidies."

On sale at the A.S.P. Book Department, 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney, at 6d per copy. 7d posted Wholesale rate, 4/- per doz.

Peasant Commune

By E. YAROSLAVSKY (in Pravda).

It was about six o'clock p.m. when we arrived at the "Red Town," the name given to the labor agricultural commune organised by working men, and situated eight versts from Kalouga on Prince Golytchine's estate.

The "Manor" had been somewhat neglected; it is clear there had been no careful hand or eye for the last two years, but that "abomination of desolation" which I expected to meet with was absent. We were met by three girl communists neatly dressed in tidy khaki blouses and skirts and not without just a touch of coquettishness about them.

"Where is the commune?" I asked them. And smiling archly at my ignorance, one of the girls replied, with a touch of pride, "Why, the commune is everywhere round about here."

They went to call the chairman of the communal Soviet comrade Ratiouk, a man with a sunburnt, thin, energetic face. He approached us, limping, "I injured my leg through inexperience," he explained, "when trying to help my comrades wipe the lime off the floors after whitewashing the house. But the lime burnt into my leg, and now I can't succeed in curing it."

His simple, artless tale gave us an account a glimpse of the communal soviet (a sort of manager), who scrubs the floors together with his comrades in order to give the dining-room a bright, cozy aspect.

At the gates are the lions, on the front of the house the Golytchine coat-of-arms. On the upper floor of the "Manor" house a theatre and stage have been erected common wooden benches and simple stage scenery.

In the room stands antique furniture, the varnish of which had lost its freshness, but there was no evidence of great disorder. In one of the rooms all the family portraits of the Golytchine's ancestors are carefully collected, in readiness for the museums. Had the communists not taken all this wealth into their hands, it would certainly have perished.

On the lower floor, the floors are pulled up, the chairman of the soviet said with conviction, "Let us only get the fieldwork off our hands, then we shall set to work here. I have already got parquet for the floor; we shall renew the plaster, whitewash, paint, so then the whole commune will come to live here—we shall do everything with our own hands."

And I feel his are not mere empty words, but that he will do as he says.

The commune was formed only lately. It comprises several families, but, for the most part the youths from the Bobruisk Artillery Stores (Aprouka). Many of them are refugees from the western provinces, who are acquainted with their more improved systems of management. When they began to organise the commune, everything was in a state of desolation. More than twenty Oldenburg cows could hardly drag themselves along for want of fodder, and gave not more than two or three pounds of milk.

Now, on the outskirts of the forest, those cows—fine and healthy—are grazing and give on the average twenty to thirty pounds of milk each.

At the beginning, the villagers were somewhat hostile and derisive, saying: "You've got a rich building, plenty of land, good forest, orchards, cows, building, plenty of land, good forest, orchards, cows, sheep, pigs, chicken, geese—how are you going to manage it all? You will eat everything up, and when spring comes, you will run away from work."

But the spring came, and the prophecy of the peasants did not come true. The commune did not run away; on the contrary, it became stronger. Easter came; they discussed how best to spend the holiday, and finally agreed to join forces and store wood.

I asked if the comrades did not grumble; did you not overdo it? One must rest a little, have some change and amusement.

"But we do take a change when possible. No

one grumbled at having to work at Easter, everyone admitted it was to be done. You see, there are seventeen communists among us, the rest are sympathisers of the party."

I remembered that Com. Mitrophanov had told me of another commune—The Organiser," where, seeing how the work made such progress, the local peasants whispered among each other that the devil himself helped the commune for having taken off their crosses.

But devil or not, the work prospers favorably. They sowed a huge field with oats and clover, also beet-roots and 100 poods of buckwheat. But best of all were the potatoes. The Department of Agriculture promised to give them potato seed, but did not fulfil their promise. Sowing time neared its end, but the 400 cartloads promised by the Kalouga government had not yet arrived. As if they had foreseen this, the commune saved their potato ration, collecting over 100 poods for sowing time. And here they are, returning from the field where they have been harrowing, so happy and friendly. Com. Ratiouk introduces me, one of the members of the communal council sadly points to thirteen dessyatines of rye, sown by the late overseer of Golytchine's estate since last autumn; "thanks for such sowing," he said ironically; "we can do it better, our rye will not look like that."

Of course not; I only had to look at their work, listen to these lads and lasses singing merrily, to understand that they would till and manure the land, harrow it over and over again, and do all on earth to make a good harvest. In the vegetable gardens the work is in full swing. They are planting onions. There is a water piping not quite in order; it needs repair, but there is no one to do it. Almost all the agricultural machines are out of order, many are broken, but they hope to be able to repair them soon. After the sowing, they are going to put the hot-houses in order, where plums and peaches are in full bloom; nothing will be allowed to perish; everything will be put straight.

The women leave us, to go and milk the cows; water is laid on in the cow sheds, which are kept very clean. The quantity of milk every cow gives is weighed and the amount recorded in order to follow up the work of each milk-maid and follow the improvement in the supply. Young girls help with the calves, feed them with new milk. The commune now supplies the town with three poods of milk daily. There will also be a children's colony, which the commune will also supply with milk.

"Time for supper," says one comrade, and we enter the common dining-room. On the way we are attracted by a tall, barefooted figure with a high forehead; this is the cultivator of wood, formerly a man of science. Fate led him to the commune and he now dreams of building an aviary in the lime thicket. The communes have already obtained beehives.

The clean supper tables has plates in it, two dishes of cut bread. We eat salad with radishes and cream and sour milk with bread, the women serving and refilling our plates. The children partake of the meal with us. What a fine, friendly, large new family is this commune!

Now it is about time to be off, preparing for home. On the way, Comrade Ratiouk tells of their educational work and how the peasants are completely changing their attitude toward them. He and the other communards dream of justifying the expenditure made by the estate this year, and in future they will have their own cloth, from their own sheep, for home-weaving—in short, they will have everything they want by their own labor, and the surplus will be given to their comrades at the loom.

Assistance must be given them, and it is not difficult to assist such communards. They live in friendship. Each one fulfils the work appointed him by the council of the commune, after it has been preliminarily discussed and agreed to at a general meeting. When mobilisation was declared, they immediately gave brave communists for the east front.

We drive through the village in the direction of Kalouga, amidst the silence of the night. And from out of the stillness, the deep sighs of our driver—a peasant—are borne to our ears, saying with conviction: "Yes, it is only a fool who would not go to such communes"

II.

A late journeyman, Oginsky by name, stands at the head of the laboring commune, "Red Town," and executes his work efficiently. But the organiser of another commune in the Trotsky volost, Kalouga ouyezed, Comrade Dolgov, is not less original. Comrade Ratiouk has told me that during the day he works as a journeyman on the estate, and in the evening prepares himself for an examination as a cultivator of forests. Comrade Dolgov is a local peasant, joiner and sailor, on war service. Together with several other comrades, he organised the laboring commune which was afterwards called "The Organiser." I think it deserves its title, for it organises into one group all the district villagers. In Kalouga and the government of Kalouga, all the streets, squares, volosts and villages have been renamed; near Kalouga there is a village called Verlen, Bebel and Rosa Luxemburg volosts. The Trotsky volost is considered one of the best organised. It is near Kalouga and can be better supplied. And here, among a peasantry which is disunited, such establishments as "Red Town" and "Organiser" may play an important role.

Comrade Mitrophanov, exchanging opinions with me with regard to the revenue of the communes and soviet estates, is right in saying that the groups could not be expected to realise all the expenses made by them in the first year. The only thing one can demand of them is efficient organisation, to insure success in the following years, and not to allow the valuable plant of the estates to perish and become dilapidated.

This task the "Organiser" has already carried out. Towards the end of 1917, the Janovsky estate occupied by the commune was of comparatively small cultivation value. During the war and the first revolution, it fell into decay. The owner, as if foreseeing the end, made no repairs. The hot-beds were destroyed, the rail-fence rotted, the courtyard filled with dirt. The communards received good land, a handsome old birch-grove leading to the house a good forest and a bad garden. This garden has to be rooted up, as on such a low-lying spot it will never be possible to make a good garden. The buildings remain whole, there were few cattle but there was sufficient agricultural machines. Amongst the communists there are several families, the principle of communal life is strictly adhered to, but this does not cause any misunderstanding between the communists with or without families. Ploughing and sowing is done with united forces in spite of scarcity of horses.

And when, side by side with these model fields and meadows are seen the narrow, badly-laid rows of peasant sowing, it becomes clear that "Organiser" will be victorious; that one fine day, perhaps in a year or two, the peasants will gather together and organise a commune, unite these strips of land into one field, and till it together. The Organiser does everything in power to help the villagers towards this. Next to the ploughed land of the commune stretches the land of the peasants and the difference is already noticeable. The Organiser organises meetings for the villagers and discusses the question of the new order. In reality, the victory is with us, although the peasants do not form communes for themselves (there are some, however, who have done so), they have ceased being hostile towards us. The communes deprive them of nothing; on the contrary, they give them something.

The peasants readily organise co-operative artels. Several of those, however are merely fictitious, as when seeds were distributed in these artels, the cunning moujiks thought to themselves: why should we not get seeds first? Everything was in order for the formation of the artel, and, after having received the seeds, they divided them, and each peasant took to sowing his own strip of land. But this does not exist everywhere. There are many firmly established laboring artels. We are only at the beginning of the immense process of construction. We must be more thoughtful, more observant, pay more attention to the smaller needs of unity, and we shall master the instinct of ownership and build up a life on the basis of unity, collectives and communes.

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The State and Revolution

By V. I. ULIANOV (N. LENIN)

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LIGHT ON CAPITALIST CABLES.

Continued from front page

men (sic) had to openly declare for the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire and the elimination of Moslem rule. Like Kerensky, they had to do a devil of a lot of promising.

But the time they had provisionally shared it out there was nothing left. Then they got frightened about India and Mesopotamia, and we see a renunciation of a part of the swag, or rather an attempt at renunciation. Each of the Powers wants the other one to leave a bit for Turkey.

Constantinople isn't enough to satisfy the Turk, so the weakest has to suffer. The weakest happens to be Armenia. Armenia has been promised pie (in the sky), and on the strength of that had for years done rather more in proportion to population to help the good Western capitalist than South Africa, Ireland, India, or any of the other brave friends of Empire. Likewise about a million Armenians died suddenly during the bloody quinquennium.

But Armenia—i.e., the place where the Armenians live—is partly in Russian Trans-Caucasia and partly in Asiatic Turkey, only more so: therefore, we have today an Armenian Republic which is only a quarter of Armenia, and which has been created by England in order to keep the Georgians and Tartars of Trans-Caucasia busy with something less dangerous than Socialism and the Baku oil wells.

These rest of Armenia has been carefully nursed for some time by Monstapha Kemal, who would be rather hard to shift. Result: As Greece has got Smyrna, etc., France Syria, and the Jews have got to have a bit of the desert to keep them quiet, and as most of the rest of Turkey in Asia is absolutely essential to the maintenance of the British Raj, and as Turkey has got to have something to keep the Moslems of India quiet, the only bit left to give her is the bit most solemnly promised to the Armenians. Well, as Armenia has no influence in India, and anyhow most of them are dead, the simple solution is to give Armenia back to Turkey, and trust in God that the Turks will hurry up and finish off the remainder of so troublesome a nation. And the Armenians are so beastly ungrateful to their saviours and modern Gladstones as to be seriously studying Bolshevik propaganda. The brutes!

On February 1st "L'Humanité" began the issue of a new weekly for circulation among the peasant population, hitherto the most conservative section, and largely ignorant or unaffected by Socialist propaganda.

—"The International."

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The Secret of the League.---II

By N. BUKHARIN (Editor of "Pravda")

Social Conditions of the League of Nations.

The necessity of an understanding is rendered all the more indispensable by the social bankruptcy of the capitalist system. This bankruptcy finds expression in a revolutionary ferment which is apparent everywhere, in the armies, in the working classes, and lastly in circumstances, for there are already "foreign bodies" in the capitalist system; a fundamentally antagonistic structure, the Republic of the Soviets of the proletariat of Russia.

From the other side, the imperialist system of the Great Powers is openly threatened by the national movement of the colonies, which will become all the more active the more the continental working class movement progresses. Ireland, India, and Egypt, are a peril for England no whit less great than the German Communist movement or the demonstrations of revolutionary soldiers rising against the Government. That is why the immediate task of international capitalism is the holy alliance against the proletariat, and the most rapid possible solution of the colonial question.

One must not forget that the League of Nations is no league of "people," but a league of the great capitalist trusts. Against such a trust, the working-class and plundered colonies will rise in revolt.

It is easily seen that the first task of the organisation of the great capitalist States is the formation of an international police, that is an international White Guard which can be sent against the proletariat and the colonies whenever they cannot bear in patience the holy pillage of the divine imperialist plunderers of President Wilson.

Every State power is a mechanism of oppression in the struggle of classes. In the present hour, in the moment of civil war, nothing is possible but a still sharper manifestation of this function of the State power; and it is for this reason that there can be no present alternative between the Dictatorship of the Proletariat or the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie. In the League of Nations we see a desperate attempt to found the dictatorship of international capital on an international and inter-State scale. The military forces which such an agreement will liberate will be transported from the bourgeois States to the front of the world civil war and the struggle against the colonies.

The victory of the proletariat would mean the downfall of the capitalist system for ever. So that you can easily conceive, in this epoch of tempest and revolt, how great the need of an understanding in the capitalist world may be. The economic situation of the capitalists is already obliging them to unite; but the menace from the working-class is making

such union all the more necessary. The League of Nations, this society for the plundering of the world, takes on the character of the "holy alliance" against the proletariat. To the working-class, it does not bring peace, but a sword.

The Ideology of the League of Nations.

In the moment of an uprising of the mass, the like of which has never been seen before, it is impossible for capitalism to restrain them with bayonets alone. It must also deceive them systematically, otherwise the domination of capitalism is broken.

Therefore the creators of the League of Nations, from the very beginning, took care to prepare an agreeable sauce for their stew. The very name of League of Nations is a deceit. And the same fraud turns up in the other resounding names given to the League: "Alliance of the Peoples," "League of Peace," "Universal League," etc.

It is worth while to note that Wilson, Lloyd George and Co., who were responsible for the war, are openly speculating on peace. The League of Nations, they say, has for its end a "universal peace." All disputes shall be resolved "peacefully" by the "Nations." Whoever does not obey is to be regarded as an enemy of peace, and brought to "reason" by means of the international police.

Therefore, he who raises his hand against capitalism is a disturber of the peace of peoples, an enemy of peace, and must be destroyed.

It is the last kick against the Bolsheviking of the world. The Entente's announcing with regard to Prinkipo was of a like character: "Stop it, or we'll put our international police at your heels."

Then you have another point in the programme: the cry against Bolshevik imperialism. The president of the most imperialist State, the prime minister of the king of England, all the scoundrels of imperialism, melt in a moment into the most rabid opponents of imperialism. These worthies call the victory of Socialism: Bolshevik imperialism.

Lastly, a certain opportunism is introduced into the web of deceit. President Wilson, for instance, declares that the time is past when all control can remain in the hands of the rich. (Thus speaks the President of a Republic directed by two banks.) One may conclude, that when it is convenient, the opportunists will be supported against the Communists, so that the fight against the proletarian revolution becomes a war of cunning underlying the open strife.

It is the last stronghold of capitalism. Quite likely the capitalists will manage to come to an understanding. Let us have no illusions. Great battles are yet in store. But whatever union our enemies make, no matter under what mask it may be formed, is a direct peril for the working-class.

—"The Call," Eng.

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